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MIRROR OF POLITICS

—William V. Shannon

THE

Commonweal

THE CAMPAIGN ISSUES

A Republican's View

by Jacob K. Javits

A Democrat's View

by Paul H. Douglas

and

Harold Shuman

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

THE CHURCH OF SILENCE

THE SAME "relaxation" which marks the political and economic aspects of the Soviet's encounter with the free world can also be observed with regard to religion within the Soviet orbit. And just as its political and economic "liberalization" has served to make of Communism an even more formidable enemy, a greater threat to religion is posed by the liberalized policies now in effect throughout the Communist world.

This danger is particularly great within the satellite countries, where an increased effort is being made to establish "national" churches, Catholic in name, liturgy and practice, but, bit by bit, to be severed from the authority of the Holy See. This fact makes particularly significant the recent Apostolic Letter sent by Pope Pius to the bishops, clergy and laity of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslavakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, East Germany and "to the peoples of Europe suffering persecution who are in peace and union with the Apostolic See."

Although Pope Pius refers to the dangers of "the ever growing curse of atheism" he also points out the dangers which lie behind the facade of the Communist-sponsored national churches: "We realize with regret that because of human frailty, especially when these persecutions and sufferings last a long time, some lose heart and their courage slackens. What is worse, they think that the doctrine of Christ must be mitigated and adapted, as they say, to the times and circumstances of things and places. They say it is necessary to mitigate and change the principles of the Catholic religion so that there may be a certain false union between it and the errors of the 'advancing' age."

In thus speaking of the peril represented by "progressive Catholicism" in the captive nations, Pope Pius was describing but one arm of the pincers by which international Communism is seeking to crush the only kind of Catholicism which it fears. The other arm of the pincer is the familiar one of repression and force, and no show of Soviet "liberalization" can make it seem less heinous than it was when Stalin held it.

Thus, it must be noted that of the hierarchy behind the Iron Curtain to whom this recent Apostolic Letter was addressed, three Cardinals and thirty-five bishops are either imprisoned or under arrest. The Communist regimes in the satellite countries have, from time to time, released or rehabilitated members of the hierarchy, but, with one exception, none of the "liberated" bishops has been allowed to resume the duties of his office. Nor has the liberalized policy of the Kremlin restored to the Church a single one of the activities essential to the carrying out of its divine commission. The Catholic press is either still suppressed or has been suborned to the service of the state. Catholic schools have either been eliminated or function with a curriculum and faculty imposed by the state. Even the welfare and charitable organizations dedicated to the corporal and spiritual works of mercy have been either stamped out or exploited by the state in its efforts to wrest from the Church every instrument or agency on which it relied in its manifold mission among men.

FACTS SUCH as these do more, however, than simply serve to remind us of the West that the Soviet "new look" in relation to the Church or to religion in general is essentially old and distressingly familiar; nor have we exhausted the relevance of Pope Pius' Apostolic Letter to ourselves when we note, in an academic fashion, that it shows the dimensions and the awful price of "co-

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existence" between Church and State on present Soviet terms.

The fact that the "Church of Silence" exists behind the Iron Curtain imposes the obligation of charity upon us toward not only the persecuted, but also the "progressives"—for they are faced with temptations the strength of which we can only imagine, but cannot begin really to comprehend.

And the Apostolic Letter, although addressed explicitly to Catholics under Soviet domination, has yet an implicit exhortation to us. In calling upon the persecuted members of the Church to hold fast to their religion, Pope Pius added, "so that even your persecutors—the command of Christian charity extends also to them—may obtain pardon from Him Who expects to embrace lovingly all His prodigal sons." Herein is a much-needed reminder that our current fear and detestation of Communism must never harden the heart against those who are Communists, and the simple reference to Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev, Malenkov and Gero, as "prodigals" reminds us of the ultimate stakes and of our primary responsibility in the current phase of "competitive coexistence."

LABOR OF LOVE

THE SCORE or more of literary quarterlies and other "little magazines" produced in this country at present remain virtually unknown to the vast American reading public. For the better than average reader there is, at best, a scraping acquaintance with one or two or them through the periodical shelves of some larger library or an occasional quote in mass media. But this entire field remains a blank to impressive numbers who read their daily paper, buy the flourishing picture, news and women's magazines and enroll in the major book clubs.

That this absence of a wide following can be ascribed to a lack of enterprise on the part of the editors of these little-known magazines was one of the self-criticisms just voiced at a Harvard Summer School conference. Perhaps one answer to this charge is that there seem to be few individuals equal to combining artistic sensibilities of some dimension with a talent for promotion. There must be a reason beyond indolence or timidity that through the ages artists and poets have had to seek, and sometimes have obtained, the sustaining beneficence of wealthy patrons.

But the Harvard magazine conference did not concern itself primarily with the problem of survival in an "increasingly mass-minded culture." Editors and writers from fifteen of these literary journals sought to define the role of this sort of publishing in the United States today. Some of the speakers stressed its importance in the encouragement and development of new creative and critical talents. Allen Tate, for example, estimated that four-fifths of the contemporary writers that have come to the fore in the United States since World War II first appeared in the "little magazines." Frederick Morgan of the *Hudson Review* stressed the role of serious writing in the transmitting of culture and civilization from generation to generation and showed how the lack of commercial considerations in journals of this sort gave the writer (particularly the gifted young writer) an "opportunity for organic growth" in the stimulating environment of contact with other serious writers.

Other speakers dwelt rather on the influence that is wielded by these magazines with circulations from the hundreds up to several thousand. If subscribers are few, they tend themselves to be writers, critics and leaders in the intellectual community. In this way the "little magazine" does eventually have an impact on a rather wide reading public, a fact of considerable importance at a time of untroubled national optimism, stereotyped thinking and lack of interest in ideas. Can not some formula be found by which these publications could catch on in a rather substantial fashion? There are plenty of Americans who fancy themselves as devotees of "culture." What a display a half-dozen of these "little magazines" would make in a well-furnished suburban living room, for example. Once some such idea were got across, the publishers of these financially modest ventures could go about their task of developing new writers and influencing molders of opinion—comparatively unharried.

NEXT WEEK

MICHAEL P. FOGARTY gives his impressions of an extended stay in the United States.

"The whole place is a frontier. I have never met a country so full of loose ends and of people working their heads off to get them all properly tied up. The older parts of your towns look as if they had been dumped on the prairie out of an ashcan; but we have also seen in America more fine modern architecture, more attractive projects and well-designed machines for living in, than in any European country."

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THE INCIDENT OF JUDGE BIGELOW

THE RECENT action concerning Judge Bigelow of New Jersey belongs in the middle of a story which begins like this: Once upon a time in the United States, every citizen looked upon the Constitution as a guarantee of freedom and of the rights of the individual. Under the strain of international tension and the danger of internal subversion, however, many persons became willing and even eager to make many exceptions. They even regarded recourse to some of the privileges of the Constitution as an admission of guilt. Such action was at its height during a time when fear and near-hysteria swept the country. This was known as the time of McCarthyism. When the wave of McCarthyism subsided, the face of the country had undergone a subtle change. People had to argue for freedoms and rights that they had once taken for granted, and there existed hidden pockets of fear and hysteria which could suddenly explode into life.

One of these pockets exploded when the New Jersey State Senate refused to confirm the appointment of former Superior Court Judge John O. Bigelow as a member of the board of governors of Rutgers University. This refusal, startling now, would have been impossible in the past. For John Ogden Bigelow, now 73, has completed more than fifty successful years as a jurist, lawyer and prosecutor, during which time he gained the admiration of those who agreed with him and the respect of those who did not. And he has said that "I have a most ardent desire to complete my career by serving as a member of the board of governors of Rutgers University."

Why, then, was his appointment not confirmed? It was not confirmed because Judge Bigelow, at the request of the Essex County (N.J.) Bar Association, acted as counsel for a Newark high school teacher who invoked the Fifth Amendment when he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And Judge Bigelow remains lawyer for the teacher in his fight against dimissal by the Newark Board of Education. Speaking for the GOP majority who denied the confirmation, Senate President Wayne Dumont, Jr., said: "You can argue the Constitution all you like but there comes a time when each individual must decide for himself what is right. I would never have represented the type of client Judge Bigelow chose to represent. This is an issue bigger than either the Senate or Judge Bigelow."

From such reasoning the incredible action followed. Judge Bigelow failed to get confirmation not because he was judged guilty of anything; not because he was even accused of being a conspirator or friendly to Communist causes; not because he spoke in favor of someone judged guilty. He was judged only because he acted in full accordance with the cardinal principles of the laws of our land and was counsel for a particular client—a teacher who himself was not judged guilty but who invoked the protection of a Constitutional privilege. In public questioning by the Judiciary Committee, Judge Bigelow pointed out that a recent Supreme Court decision held that pleading the Fifth Amendment was not just cause for dismissing a teacher. The committee found further evidence of his unfitness in his statement that he would, if appointed to the board, abide by this decision.

The action of the Committee and the acquiescence of the New Jersey Senate was in such flagrant contradiction to common sense and the resolutions of bar associations that it was immediately opposed. Governor Robert Meyner of New Jersey delivered an excoriating attack, accused the Republican majority in the Senate of showing "no comprehension whatever" of either the New Jersey or Federal Constitutions, and refused to withdraw Judge Bigelow's nomination. The American Civil Liberties Union asked the New Jersey Senate to reconsider. The Presidents of the New York, county and state, bar associations also criticized the action. The chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, said that "this is a new and violent twist of guilt by association, and makes well nigh impossible successful practice at the bar." It was further pointed out that the action contradicted resolutions of the American Bar Association: that every defendant had a right to counsel, and that the counsel should not be penalized because of his client's "reputation, views or character."

Since this issue has attracted such attention and has come to be regarded as a battle for the freedom of lawyers, Judge Bigelow will probably be confirmed in his appointment at Rutgers University. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that actions such as this can still happen—and happen to people less fortified by the long, distinguished career and strong legal support that is Judge Bigelow's. We have known fear and hysteria in our land. Though they are not so clearly in evidence as they once were, they can still be called forth. The New Jersey action is a reminder of what we will pay if our respect and fight for civil liberties is relaxed. We have not yet seen the end of the story in which this is but one incident.

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SITUATION UNCHANGED

AS A RESULT of major economic pressure and vigorous political activity, the Communists have recently made great gains in Iceland; it is hardly surprising that the American-manned NATO base there has been imperiled. A formal request to the Council of the NATO powers was not long in coming, the Iceland government asking for a full-scale investigation whether it was still necessary to maintain foreign armed forces on this island—which maintains no armed forces of its own. The question, as the Iceland authorities see it, is whether under the Khrushchev-Bulganin government international tension has not so far subsided that such defense measures are no longer necessary. This would seem to be a view widely held right now in Western Europe.

It does not prove to reflect the considered opinion of the NATO representatives, however. Several leading points led to the crystallization of their opinion. They had to balance deStalinization and other Soviet internal changes—to which proclaimed cuts in their armed forces would be added—against Russia's heavy expenditures for armament and development of new weapons and improved methods of delivery. One of the key conclusions in the NATO statement is that "Soviet offensive capabilities are being maintained." At the same time, Russian intervention in the troubled Middle East, the despatch of Soviet technicians to many uncommitted countries and the conclusion of a number of strategic trade agreements, have demonstrated that the new leaders of the USSR themselves nurture world-wide ambitions.

The NATO reply to Iceland is couched in extremely convincing terms. It reiterates in so many words the assumption of the original agreement that "foreign armed forces would not be required in Iceland in time of peace." It stresses Iceland's key strategic position in the North Atlantic and points out that the latest arms developments make early detection more necessary than ever. The hope is that the Iceland authorities will be persuaded by the NATO reminder how easily their country could be taken over by air or by sea if American forces were withdrawn.

Advance NATO bases continue to serve as deterrents to further territorial encroachments by the USSR. They continue to be our "greatest safeguard." Not only should they receive credit for the progress that has been made in modifying Soviet tactics, but our defenses have to be kept up if we "are to make further progress toward a better and safer world." This is the reasoned and considered judgment of the representatives of a number of the allied Atlantic nations. As such it should have the widest hearing possible in this country and other lands. A period of international mutual trust and peace with justice is simply not in sight.

THE GANG'S ALL HERE

BY NOW the Communist parties of the countries outside of Russia have responded quite properly. That is, after their little fling at independence following Mr. Khrushchev's speech in February, they have clearly submitted to Moscow's directives. The statement of the American Communists indicates how the problems that momentarily loomed great can dwindle away. In praising the Communist Party in Russia they lodged two faint criticisms. They question "the bureaucratic distortions in a Socialist society as well as the happenings in the sphere of Jewish cultural institutions and their leadership."

The "bureaucratic distortions," the "cult of personality" in another cliché, refer to the power Stalin attained, the position which allowed him to commit the gross crimes Mr. Khrushchev accused him of. The "happenings" refer to the destruction of Jewish life and culture, the murder of almost every leading Jewish artist in Russia. By such easy phrases do the various parties bridge the ugly past, reconcile conflicting statements and manage to write happily from within the fold.

THE HAPPY WARRIOR

A refreshing breath of complete candor and unstudied simplicity blew through the smoke-filled rooms recently. Governor A. B. (Happy) Chandler of Kentucky summoned a press conference to announce that "a fellow named Chandler" was his "first and only choice" for the Democratic Presidential nomination. When queried about his possible acceptance of the Vice Presidential nomination, he answered, "No, sir. I want the top spot."

The Governor stated that he would have the South, the farmers, the Negroes and the East behind him; after a moment, he added "the people" to his already crowded corner. With that benign authority which marked his reign as Czar of Baseball, Mr. Chandler dismissed his rivals with, "The people want a candidate they can understand." In "Happy," the people would have just that.

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A Republican's View

"IT REMAINS FOR THE PARTY NOW AND IN THE FUTURE YEARS TO ESPOUSE THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE"

JACOB K. JAVITS

THE REPUBLICAN party moves into the 1956 campaign on firmer ground than at any time since World War I. For standard bearer, it will have a candidate, President Eisenhower, who has armed his party with a modern doctrine which has brought it forward almost five decades in four years.

This modern doctrine proposes that the party carry out its mission to be a progressive, dynamic force in government, while it remains the champion of the private economy. The concept combines Lincoln's doctrine of the free working man and the party's traditional fight for free enterprise.

The President has incorporated his principles into four points: (1) The Republican party is the finest political organization through which there may be preserved for the future the kind of America we inherited. (2) Every individual is entitled to equal rights and equal opportunities without unnecessary regimentation and control, to live according to his concept of justice, decency, and right. (3) It is the responsibility of government not to forget the unfortunate or neglect the poor, and not to let down individual Americans in economic depressions. We are, in a real sense, our brothers' keepers. (4) By applying the principles of the past to the problems of the present, the expanding areas of prosperity to which America is advancing may be widely shared by our citizens.

THE PRESIDENT has carried these principles through most significantly in his historic quest for peace; in his policy of the stable dollar which makes it possible for working people really to enjoy the benefits of high wages and salaries; in a farm policy based on flexible price supports, under which the farmer may produce for market demand and not for government guarantees; and in a trade policy which recognizes the free world commercial leadership of the United States.

The progressive moderation of Eisenhower expresses a dual concern for security and freedom, and constitutes the attempt to find the right balance between them. It is an endeavor to reconcile the age-old struggle for the achievement of human dignity with the competition of free economic development.

As one leading Democrat has observed, it is fitting that President Eisenhower has consented to lead the party once more in 1956. For it is he who has given the party a new spirit. His new Republicanism emphasizes the principles of equality, justice, humanity, personal dignity and shared prosperity for all elements of our population. But the President has also given the Republican party a test of responsibility. For he has said that it shall have a mandate only if it is fit to govern.

The campaign of 1956 must be fought out on the basis of the Eisenhower principles, principles which have been a source of pride and inspiration to Americans at home and abroad for the past four years. The key issues are peace on the international front and prosperity at home. The issue of prosperity is a point of major difference in Democratic and Republican philosophy, and one along which campaign lines might well be drawn.

THE QUESTION is: can the people of the United States best be served by extensive government projects for their welfare—as the Democratic party claims? Or can the people best be served by full, shared prosperity, growing industrial expansion, mutual ownership, and contractual security against human hazards?

The problem of welfare is inseparable from the prior question of prosperity. I believe that providing the best opportunities for the approximately 63,500,000 of our people who are employed offers the best chances for those who have below par incomes or who are otherwise indigent or handicapped, as well as for the approximately 2,500,000 unemployed.

The Republican party must emphasize that its program is one designed for true prosperity in this sense: that its aim is to provide the people with the most jobs at the highest wages, under the best working conditions, with free collective bargaining and every in-

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ducement for labor peace; that only in this way can maximum help be made available for the unemployed, the aged, the young, the sick, and the indigent; and that only in this way can national health, adequate housing, good roads, full and equal educational opportunity, and other advantages be obtained which should be the birthright of every American who is willing to do his part.

The second great area of concern in domestic policies in which a modern Republican party must take the lead is the field of civil rights legislation. Much progress has been made in the last few years by the Executive and Judicial branches of our government. But for decades the Congress has done almost nothing to advance civil rights.

Segregation in the armed forces, the fight against which was begun under President Truman, was finally ended under President Eisenhower. Great advances have been made in employment policies of federal departments and against discriminatory practices of government contractors. Most important of all, this administration has practically brought about the elimination of segregation in the District of Columbia.

Now it remains for Congress to pass legislation on a bi-partisan basis to sustain the Supreme Court and uphold the authority of the Constitution. Republican leadership can be decisive in getting Congressional action as follows: First, eliminate the poll tax and protect the Negro's right to vote in both primary and general elections; and strengthen the civil rights laws to make deprivation of voting a crime as well as subject to injunction suit by the person aggrieved or by the Attorney-General in the Federal Courts. Second, enact an anti-lynch law to enable federal authorities to intervene in matters like the Emmet Till case, and other instances of racial violence. Third, establish a Bureau of Technical Assistance in the office of the U.S. Commissioner of Education to aid school systems seeking to comply with the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public schools. Four, require that wherever federal grants are made available to educational institutions, such grants be on condition that desegregation is proceeding with all deliberate speed as called for by the Supreme Court decision.

It should, fifth, move against federal tax exemption on school bond issues in those areas not seeking in good faith to comply with the Supreme Court mandate, but which seek instead to nullify it by "interposition" of something other than a public school system.

Sixth, protect Negro servicemen against discrimination or disrespect to the uniform. Seventh, enact the President's proposal for the establishment of a bi-partisan commission to examine charges that "in some localities . . . Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures." Finally, strengthen the authority of the Justice Department to investigate and proceed in civil rights cases.

THERE are many areas in which responsible Republican leadership can create the social and economic conditions which will give this nation even greater strength. The climate for modern thinking has been created by the Eisenhower doctrine and new ideas are more than ever welcome if they meet the test of this doctrine. Hence I am outlining what I believe will properly be the party's development of its position on major issues.

Recent flood disasters on both the East and West coasts point up the ever increasing need for the development and control of natural resources. The power of our streams and the wealth of our forests rightfully belong to the people; resource development must always be in the public interest, and never for selfish concerns. The federal government has a responsibility to develop coordinated flood control, power, irrigation, and navigation projects, working with public and private agencies. But this right cannot obscure the right of states to develop within their own boundaries such resources as may exist. This development should be in accordance with state policy and should at the same time consider the rights and needs of sister states.

Disaster insurance programs are sorely needed to prevent recurrence of the heavy losses of 1955 in New England and California. Whether responsibility is ultimately assumed by the several states or by the federal government, Republicans at both levels should push for action on such programs.

At the state and national level, the Republican party must be prepared to aid in developing a vast new highway network, geared to satisfy transportation demands for many years to come. That kind of program will require close cooperation between federal and state authorities. Federal aid for state highway development is certainly called for. It must be accompanied by state programs for highway development equal to the state's capacity, improved programs of motor vehicle inspection, and careful testing and licensing procedures to assure human as well as mechanical safety on the roads.

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The emergency in juvenile delinquency throughout the nation points out still another area in which close cooperation between federal, state, and local authorities is essential.

GREAT strides have been made in the last four years of Republican leadership in expanding the social security system and in furthering national research programs in heart disease, cancer, and other major killers and disablers. But we must constantly seek new areas of concern. Recent surveys show that 15% of the nation's families go into debt every year for $1,100,000,000 for medical services. It is proper and vitally necessary for government to help reduce that crushing financial burden which falls on individuals when they are least able to cope with it.

Republicans should assure that this will be done by means which will not put medicine under the control of government, nor interfere with the private doctor-patient relationship. Voluntary and cooperative health plans and facilities ought to be given the full encouragement of government. Within the framework of such plans, government should provide medical care for the aged, the indigent, and the unemployed. A real effort should be made to extend all such plans to full medical care coverage.

The recent White House Conference on Education should serve as a springboard for a modern Republican program in aid to education.

There is an urgent need to increase the number of classrooms, raise teachers' salaries, and improve incentives for entering the teaching profession. Meeting these needs will require increased expenditures, particularly on the state level. Federal aid is clearly indicated—at least at the start—for school construction.

It has been said that the Republican party is the party of business. This is generally used by the opposition as a term of opprobrium. Yet the confidence of business is a tremendous asset which Republicans can use to win the greatest gains for all the people—employer, employee, investor, farmer, and consumer alike.

There is no reason why, in 1956, the new Eisenhower Republicanism should not make a real appeal to labor. With the fullest possible employment and the use of modern collective bargaining procedures, labor shares heavily in the prosperity of the nation as a whole. Labor's interest in a stable dollar to maintain high purchasing power along with high wages gives it an additional stake in the Republican party.

So too does labor have a stake in the new Republicanism through its interest in the integrity of the economic system, which has become a major factor in the multi-billion dollar pension, welfare, and guaranteed annual wage funds.

Moreover, labor has a stake through individual ownership of corporate stocks and bonds, savings bank deposits, and life insurance policies. Beyond all else is labor's interest in peace.

NOWHERE is the leadership of the President more clearly emphasized than in his leadership for peace on the international scene. From the General Assembly of the United Nations to the summit conference at Geneva, and in subsequent events, the President has been unrelenting in his efforts to secure a just peace in which all the peoples of the world may share.

The nation must continue its struggle for peace through the United Nations as a major policy, and in every other way possible. It must also maintain, with the rest of the free world, the shield of security. At the same time, we must honor and help constructively the legitimate desire of present and former colonial areas for political and economic self-determination. The newly conscious nations and nationalisms of Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa should be assured of the full dignity long accorded by us to established sovereign nations.

Particularly in the cauldron of the Middle East, we must make it clear—and be prepared to implement our policy—that the United States stands for the integrity of states and against aggression.

That declaration must be backed up with economic and technical aid to help in the achievement of real freedom. Moreover we must be prepared to give military aid, as in arms for self-defense for Israel, where our efforts for peace are threatened by the fomenting of aggression, a technique clearly used by the Communists in arms sales to Egypt. This is a conclusion to which the Administration must inevitably come, despite any mood to defer it in view of Arab intransigence.

In the face of the new Soviet propaganda and economic offensive in the continuing "cold war," the best chance of success of aid programs is to meet the need of underdeveloped areas with long-range projects reaching well into the the future. In India, for instance, we can well afford to plot a ten year program of technical and economic assistance and of public and private investment which will dovetail with that country's development planning and with the Colombo Plan.

In the Near East, our necessary guarantee of Israel's integrity should be backed by long term economic development commitments, both to Israel and to those Arab States which will accept them. Without progress and social improvement, the so-called underdeveloped countries of the world are good targets for Communist colonial exploitation.

Much that is constructive in our foreign policy, like the atoms for peace proposal and the aerial inspections proposal, has been achieved under the leadership of

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President Eisenhower. But equally as much has been made possible by bi-partisan effort. Let us keep clearly before us as essential Republican doctrine the bi-partisan foreign policy which owes so much to the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan. A United States torn on foreign policy along party lines might be incapable of leading the free world. We must acknowledge that a foreign policy equal to the challenge we face is well nigh doomed without bi-partisan support.

The American people have, I believe, indicated their approval of dynamic and progressive Republicanism. It remains, therefore, for the party now and in future years to espouse and develop further the Eisenhower doctrine. For it is this doctrine that has set the Republican party on a new and modern path and enabled it to receive and administer a national mandate in the best interest of the country after two decades without power. It has thereby freed the American political system from its greatest modern danger—the collapse of the two party system.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

A Democrat's View

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AS THE LIBERAL PARTY, LOOKS TO THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AS THE GREAT HOPE FOR PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION"

PAUL H. DOUGLAS and HOWARD SHUMAN

AS THE 1956 election approaches we should recall, amidst the banners and the ballyhoo, that its full function in a democratic society is more than the mere choosing of legislative and executive officials. It is, or at least it should be, a time for public education, for the clarification of issues, and a chance for the voters to make informed choices on issues as well as on personalities. It is a time when we should test men and parties against our values and our ideals.

But as the prizes of power, patronage and office loom before the ambitions of men and parties there is a tendency to appeal to all groups, to play down issues, to obscure conflicts within parties, and to paper over the cracks brought about by actual voting records, Administration actions and the guardianship of the public trust. There is a propensity to turn it all over to Madison Avenue technicians who, with their "educational" packets, can invent the catchiest slogans, the most eye-catching buttons and the most effective radio and TV appeals to din a party or a candidate into the voter's' subconscious or to arouse his fears and emotions, if not his reason and his intelligence.

In 1956, there will be, perhaps, more of this than ever before. And in politics as in economics there is a form of Gresham's law so that bad practices frequently drive out the good, action provokes counter-action, and one excess leads to another. Thus, we should pause and ask such questions as: what are the fundamental differences between our parties, what are the issues which we must decide, and to whom may the public, with the least fear and with the greatest hope, turn over the affairs of our government, which at this time in history is the leader of the free world and the hope of mankind?

There are many who believe, either through cynicism or from a superficial view, that there is little to choose between our two political parties. While it is true that there are men in both parties who, except for the accident of birth, geography, or local pressures and interests, might well be members of the other party, and while it is also true that there are some issues on which party positions overlap and a few on which one or both parties are badly split, it is not true that they are alike.

FUNDAMENTALLY the issue between our parties is whether wealth and power shall be the dominant interest to be served by government or whether government shall serve the interest of all the people. Some would put the issue between how little or how much the federal government should do, or between states' rights and federal rights.

But we know from experience that those who most often decry the intervention of the federal government in the field of social and economic affairs for the benefit of the poor or the consumer or the low-income groups, are most often the first to welcome federal intervention on behalf of the rich and the well-to-do. While they vote against the expansion of social security, federal aid to education, tax relief for low income groups, aid to the small farmer, or the development of our great natural resources as a public trust, they can and do vote, at one and the same moment, for subsidies to airlines and shipbuilders, for fast write-offs of taxes, for the grant of natural resources to a few private individuals,

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and for special privileges to the few whose sustenance is derived from dividends and unearned income, while increasing the burden on those who earn their living by the sweat of their brow.

They object when the federal government intervenes to provide a minimum income for the sick and the disabled, but they demand federal intervention to curb trade unions or to give relief to industry. More often than not they succumb to the pressures from the particular interest whose exchequers bulge with funds to support the keen-witted representatives who buttonhole the member of Congress or have access to the inner office of the high Administration official or White House aide. And, more often than not, they either do not hear or do not take the time or the effort to find out what is in the interest of the general public, who are almost entirely unrepresented by special pleaders in the halls of Congress or before administrative agencies and tribunals. Thus, the issue is not whether the federal power shall be exercised but on whose behalf it shall be used.

Now, lest we be accused of an overzealous partisanship in the heat of a campaign, let us look at the record. As proof of what has been said, let us examine some of the issues and how the votes were cast.

WHEN THE Senate had before it an amendment to the Social Security bill to provide benefits beginning at age 50 to those who were completely disabled, this provision was approved on a roll call vote by a 47 to 45 margin. The Eisenhower Administration opposed this basic reform in our laws—the first major forward step since the original Social Security law was passed. There were pressures from the powerful American Medical Association and from employers and their representatives who are conservative on both human issues and money issues. The party vote was 41 Democrats and 6 Republicans for the extension and 38 Republicans and 7 Democrats against it. So, although there were a few in both parties whose sentiments were with the other, the real centers of power in each party and the dominant interests served by each were clear beyond doubt on such an issue as this.

Or let us take a question like Hell's Canyon, where the basic issue was whether a great natural resource belonging to all of our people was to be developed in full for the benefit of all or dominated by a few for the benefit of the few. Although this issue was lost in the Senate by a 51 to 41 vote, the party vote was 43 Republicans and 8 Democrats against the Hell's Canyon development and 39 Democrats and 2 Republicans for the high dam and the full use of the resources of the Snake River. Thus, on this issue there is a clear distinction between our parties. And on this vote there is no question but that the organized power of the private utilities and the interests of the Republican party were the same.

Let us take another basic issue, that of public housing and slum clearance, where the interests of the powerful real estate lobby and the vast majority of the Republican party meet. On the amendment offered by Senator Bricker, the issue was whether we were to have 135,000 public housing units a year for four years free of restrictive provisions or 35,000 public houses a year for two years with such restrictive provisions that even these could not be built. The parties in the Senate split; 34 Democrats, or 83 per cent, and 7 Republicans, or 17 per cent voted for the workable program and 31 Republicans, or 82 per cent, and 7 Democrats, or 18 per cent, voted against it. Here again is proof of the basic and fundamental difference which divides our parties and which dominates the inner councils of each.

Even on the issue of civil rights, the dominant positions of the two parties are, I believe, at odds. Although it is true that we Democrats are split geographically and historically on this issue, yet the Northern and Western Democrats, who make up about two-thirds of the party's membership in the country, believe passionately in civil rights for all. But there is no geographic or historical division for the Republican party to point to as an excuse for their inaction.

In 1949, it was the working coalition of twenty-three Southern Democrats and twenty-three Northern Republicans who defeated our effort to change the Rules of the Senate to make cloture easier to obtain and who then went on, as they pressed their triumph, to tighten the Rules of the Senate to make filibustering an even more effective weapon than it had been.

In the four years in which the Eisenhower Administration has been in office it was not until late in the fourth —an election year—that the Administration even proposed minor civil rights bills—bills which we Democrats had had in the hopper for a long time. In the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, where 8 votes were needed to report out those bills, there were always 4 favorable Democratic votes, but the 4 Republican votes needed were never forthcoming. And, if the Republicans would have joined with the Northern Democrats instead of continuing their alliance with the Southern wing of our party, there would have been the necessary votes to invoke cloture, stop a filibuster, and pass civil rights legislation. But this cooperation was never forthcoming and the President never used the power of his office to bring it about.

THE ATTITUDE of the two parties on basic issues also affects their concept of the Presidency. Liberals in the United States suffer a great electoral disadvantage. Because the State legislatures are dominated almost exclusively by the representatives from the less populated rural areas and because most of them have failed to redistrict as the people have moved to the cities, they are, basically, conservative bodies. Because

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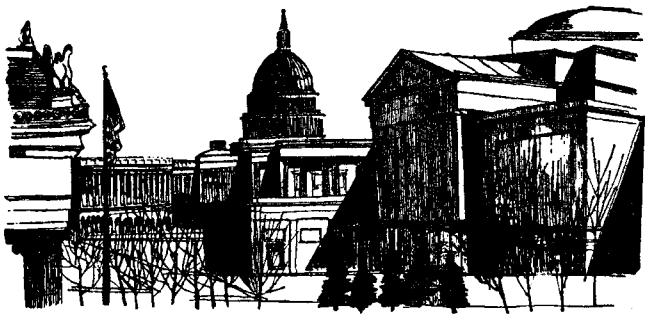
of this, at the State level, little happens. The States, in turn, establish the boundary lines for Congressional districts. These are distorted so that the Democratic party and the populous and liberal areas of our country are under-represented by about 30 seats in the House of Representatives.



The Senate, of course, is the most unrepresentative body of all. Nine states with over half of the people have only 18 of 96 members, while the other one-half of our people are served by 78 Senators. When one adds to this disparity the fact that the large populous states are generally our great two-party states, where a member's tenure is insecure, the populous areas suffer not only from under-representation but from the seniority system which elevates those from the one-party rural and conservative areas into positions of dominance.

Thus, the Democratic party, as the liberal party, looks to the leadership of the office of the President as the great hope for progressive legislation and advancement in economic and social affairs. The Republican party, dominated as it is by conservative forces, looks to the President largely as a figurehead who will not upset the *status quo*. This basic attitude accounts, therefore, for the lack of leadership for which President Eisenhower has become known. His and his party's concept of his high office is largely one of inaction.

While it is true that President Eisenhower has great personal popularity, this has been retained not only because of his nature but also because he has seldom, if ever, committed that popularity on basic issues. He did not commit it on the issue of Senator McCarthy. He has failed to commit it and to use the great power of his office on the issue of civil rights, or to see that the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation was carried forward with "all deliberate speed" as the Court had suggested. Even when he has made pronouncements favoring some particular action, as he did on the school construction bill, these have either been made too late to be effective or he has not applied the political sanctions of punishment and reward to further his stated "objectives." And when he has used the full powers of his office on legislative measures they have been used for poor measures, as when he opposed Hell's Canyon and the disability provisions of the Social Security bill. As a result he leads a party which is in basic conflict with his pronouncements.

This satisfies his own party; it satisfies the concept which apparently he has of the high office of President of the United States; and it makes it possible for his party to have their cake and eat it too. From their point of view this is the best of all worlds, but it is far from the concept of his high office which is needed if America is to meet the basic problems which both foreign and domestic events have established these last four years.

As a result, we have conflicting and diverging statements in the international field in the role of neutrals, or the President proclaims "peace" at Geneva while his Secretary of State leads us to the "brink of war." The President states that every man should have an opportunity to face his accusers while the security systems he set up makes certain that such confrontation cannot take place. Again, the President proclaims his belief in free trade while, at the same time, he packs the Tariff Commission with protectionists, and defaults when the high-tariff members of his party vote two to one in the House against his program and carve it up and distribute the pieces among the domestic protectionists in the Senate. What we have, in effect, is a thesis from the White House, an antithesis from his followers in administrative positions and Congressional office, all of which results in synthetic action. This, in brief, is the Eisenhower dialectic.

THERE WILL be other and more specific issues in this campaign. There is the question of the President's physical ability to carry on even the limited concept of his office which he holds. There is the question of his successor if his heart fails or if his health gives way. There are the specific pledges for 90 per cent of parity, the liberation of subject peoples, the reduction of government spending, and the liberalization of our immigration laws—unfulfilled pledges of 1952.

There is the issue of big business domination of the Eisenhower Cabinet and Administration, the conflicts of interest which this domination has promoted, and their repercussions in events like Dixon-Yates, off-shore oil, and the resignation of Air Secretary Talbot. Big business mergers and small business stagnation are other legitimate issues.

The question of the adequacy of our defenses *vis à vis* the Soviet Union and the lack of new thinking in the Hydrogen Age to replace those programs and actions like Marshall Aid, the Berlin Air Lift, the Truman Doctrine, NATO, and the policy of containment which the genius and courage of Harry Truman evolved to meet the challenges of his Administration are other issues.

These of course are the specific issues, but, as already indicated, the basic issues go deeper. They stem from the centers of power in each of our two parties and the

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dominant interests which, working through these parties, shape and design their basic fabric. They stem from the concept of the office of the President and from the related question of whether that office and the political party of its occupant use it and its power to serve the general or the narrow interest.

One hopes that these fundamental issues will not be obscured by the slogans of peace and prosperity, at a time when peace is insecure and prosperity is unevenly distributed. One hopes that the advertising efforts of Batton, Barton, Durstine and Osborne and the one-minute "plugs" at the end of choice evening television programs will not distract the wisdom of our people or weaken their ability to separate substance from propaganda. One hopes that the people will distinguish between liking a man personally and judging both his ability to grasp the reins of government and his physical capacity to carry a full work load at a time of world crisis. And, finally, one hopes that the buttons and balloons will not confuse the promises with the performance, or the slogans with the voting record of the two parties on issues and bills when the legislative chips are down, after the long distance phone calls from local special pleaders have been made and when the public interest is at stake.

THE AMERICAN people have the intelligence and capacity to understand issues and to decide them on their merits when they are presented fairly, and often even when they are presented unfairly or when a particular view prevails in the public domain because of the domination of our mass communications by those of only one political persuasion.

If this campaign can be a time of public education, when issues are clarified, and when values and ideals may clash with each other, then we have nothing to fear when the choice of our executive and legislative servants is made. If, instead, it becomes a campaign of slogans and propaganda with unevenness and unfairness in the opportunity to present opposing issues, then we have much to fear, for that will alter the role of our government, change the nature of the office of the President, and distort the issues which a free people must decide.

THE VICE PRESIDENCY

Mirror of Politics

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

POLITICS holds a mirror up to life. Politicians, like the inhabitants of Plato's cave, respond to the images and the reflections, often distorted but never entirely false, of those images of real life.

Harold Stassen's lonely foray against the renomination of Vice President Nixon and the parallel search of Democratic leaders for a suitable candidate to oppose Nixon for the Vice Presidency illumine the darkly seen shape of American life on the eve of election. What they seem to reveal is a cloudy configuration of complacency and expediency edged about by fear.

Two convictions determine the present course of American politics: the widely shared belief that Mr. Eisenhower, notwithstanding the known frailty of his health, is more than likely to win reelection and the complementary conviction that he may very well not live out a second term. These beliefs are common among the men of power in both parties.

Mr. Stassen's unexpected declaration a fortnight ago that Mr. Nixon's renomination would weaken an Eisenhower ticket by at least six per cent and that Governor Christian Herter of Massachusetts would make a stronger running mate has been depicted in some quarters as an act of high comedy, in others as a feckless aberration, and in still others as an outburst of thwarted ambition.

Each interpretation overlooks certain pertinent facts. Mr. Stassen is an experienced politician of nearly twenty years activity in the higher reaches of his profession. He has shown no other eccentricity in his recent public performances, nor has he any marked taste for comedy.

His anti-Nixon exploit was an act of imagination, of cool and calculated daring born of desperation. It is a desperation not singularly his own. He foresaw the savagely hostile response of the Republican professionals whose beau ideal Richard Nixon has become. He would not have braved that hostility unless he had a highly-placed protector who would, if needed, save him with the only man who counts—the President. Mr. Stassen, in the view of informed observers here, did not need to know in advance that his attack would

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surely succeed—indeed, he could scarcely have believed that—but only that it was an act ultimately without risk. Mr. Stassen, in a word, was an agent and not a free lance.

He was an agent, it is believed, for a powerful group of businessmen who have had ready access to the President throughout his three years in office. These men are deeply uneasy at the prospect that Richard Nixon may someday inherit the Presidency or, in the event of a relapse in Mr. Eisenhower's health, obtain the presidential nomination at the national convention or by act of the national committee during the campaign. These men do not trust Mr. Nixon, nor do his friends and associates inspire greater trust. Last winter these businessmen maneuvered to persuade the President to drop Mr. Nixon from the ticket. They were strong enough to bring about an interval of doubt in February and March but not quite strong enough to attain their goal. It is an old saying that one must strike at the heart of a king, for a near-miss is worse than not to have struck at all. Mr. Nixon was the king. His enemies scored last winter only a near-miss.

Mr. Eisenhower's ileitis malady made the failure of the "chart your own course" interim of redoubled significance. The contingency that had not been forestalled then had been brought measurably nearer. In this critical circumstance, the anti-Nixon forces struck again, this time through the agency of Mr. Stassen in an effort to achieve at least one of three possible desiderata. They were, in descending priority, the eleventh-hour conversion of Mr. Eisenhower to the substitution of Governor Herter; secondly, the establishment of Mr. Herter as a viable alternative in the event the President might withdraw before the convention; and finally, the negotiation of a provisional modus vivendi with Mr. Nixon. No matter how strikingly they have failed to obtain the first two, so to speak, *public* objectives, they are more than likely to achieve their third *private* goal.

Mr. Nixon, though now outwardly in an invulnerable position of favor, may not feel so secure he will not decide that it is to his own interest to shore up his position by treating with his enemies.

THE ELEMENTS of the banking and business community in New York and Pennsylvania who, it is believed, stand behind Mr. Stassen's recent operations have much at stake. It is a commonplace to observe that this administration has created a friendlier climate for business. Business leaders have easy entree to the White House and the offices of cabinet members just as the leaders of labor had access in the days of Roosevelt and Truman. A "more favorable climate of opinion" is a beguiling euphemism used to describe an atmosphere in which matters of grave import to individual businessmen and corporations—tax rates and tax interpretations, accelerated amortization certificates, airline routes, anti-trust suits, defense contracts, interest rates, and government loans and subsidies—can be settled in advantageous ways. The power of decision in these matters is one of the great prizes for which men wage the ruthless, incessant political struggle.

As Henry Ford II remarked at the Senate hearings on automobile marketing practices this spring, however, "What is good for General Motors is not necessarily good for the Ford Motor Company." By extension, it might be said that what is good for the banking house of Morgan, Stanley is not good for Goldman, Sachs, what is good for Kaiser Aluminum is not good for Aluminum Company of America, or what is good for Coca-Cola is not good for Pepsi-Cola. The business community is not a monolith. Despite its broadly shared objectives, despite the cooperation, the sharing, the pooling, there is also keen and vigilant competition. Individual companies and interest blocs have individual objectives. Each wants to have a working line to the White House and the Justice Department.

Not all of the eastern business community is displeased by Mr. Nixon's rising prospects of power. Certain elements of it, however, are displeased and fearful and make up the core of the anti-Nixon group.

Mr. Stassen did not make a kamikaze suicide attack; he was engaged in a serious, purposeful undertaking. Whatever the public demonstration on the stage of politics in the days just past or just ahead, that undertaking has cast a long shadow into the future. Like the rival kingmakers around President Roosevelt in 1944, Stassen and his backers are thinking not only of the next election but of 1957 and beyond.

THE imponderabilities of Mr. Eisenhower's health also color the Democratic opposition. The mood of the Democrats at bottom is one of thinly concealed defeatism. Adlai Stevenson, now the foremost candidate for the nomination, and Averell Harriman, his principal rival, do not share this defeatism. Experience teaches that regardless of a candidate's initial estimate of the political situation, the psychological dynamism of campaigning convinces him of the certainty of victory. Only by this belief can the terrible strains and burdens of a campaign be made tolerable. Reporters recall that even Mr. Landon in 1936 thought he would win.

Aside from Messrs. Stevenson and Harriman, however, the rest of the leadership of the party betrays at least in private the unhappily unshakable conviction that President Eisenhower, sick or well, will win reelection. Mr. Eisenhower's illnesses, nevertheless, have altered the mood. They have given Democrats a rising hope that they may just possibly be able to defeat an

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opponent who is at less than peak physical vigor and at the same time, a rising eagerness to do so in order to foreclose the possibility of Mr. Nixon's inheriting the office. Mr. Nixon, needless to say, is anathema to every faction within the Democratic Party.

This optimism and this heightened sense of urgency drive the Democrats at this time to cast about for a political combination best calculated to win the election. Since Mr. Stevenson is assumed to be the probable candidate, this comes down to a matter of choosing the Vice Presidential candidate. In 1952, Mr. Stevenson in concert with other leaders chose a running mate with considerable disinterestedness. They passed over Senator Kefauver, the logical figure to bring votes to the ticket, in favor of the less well-known Senator Sparkman of Alabama. The selection of Sparkman was widely misconstrued as a peace offering to the South. This was but a minor consideration. Stevenson settled on Sparkman because it was thought he would make the most effective "working Vice President" in getting the future administration's legislative program through Congress, because of his popularity with his colleagues, and his skill in committee and cloakroom maneuver.

THE DECISION on the Vice Presidency at this month's convention seems certain to be made with an eye less to parliamentary effectiveness after next January 20 and much more to campaign effectiveness between now and November. It is in the light of this criterion that three leading candidates have emerged. They are Senators Kefauver, John Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

Kefauver's principal strength is that other than Mr. Stevenson he is the only candidate who has an authentic mass following among the party rank-and-file and independent voters. Kefauver has other assets as well that are not likely to count as heavily in the scales. He is a man of soundly decent instincts, impressive political courage, and a long, honorable record of public service. Some observers here are convinced that nothing better could have happened to the Democrats than a Stevenson-Kefauver reconciliation.

It is no derogation of an uncommonly attractive and talented young politician to observe that Senator Kennedy's name is being put forward for all the wrong reasons. He is young, a war hero, a good campaigner, and has no enemies—much the same reasons, it may be recalled, that recommended young Senator Nixon to the Republican managers in 1952. Kennedy is also a Catholic. Democratic strategists are aware they lost heavily among Catholic voters four years ago, particularly those in the more prosperous, suburban neighborhoods. Kennedy, it is thought, would recapture much if not all of this support without causing an offsetting loss in southern states. Kennedy has a respectable, if brief, political record but unlike Alfred E. Smith in 1928, he has emerged not because he is clearly the best man despite his religion but because of the very fact of his religion.

Kennedy voted against high price supports for farmers which means he would not strengthen a Stevenson ticket in the midwest. Senator Hubert Humphrey, on the other hand, is a skilled exponent of the farm issue in terms that are known to be popular in Minnesota, Iowa, and surrounding states. He is also a stump speaker with a fire and fervor reminiscent of the late Senator Alben Barkley.

Put most crassly, the choice between Kennedy and Humphrey reduces to the question of whether the latter would influence as many votes in the farm states as the former would in the urban industrialized East.

THE FINENESS and closeness with which the votegetting potentialities of the competing candidates for the Vice Presidential nomination are being calculated in Democratic circles here provide an index of the underlying fear. A party confident of its own success would not feel the need to pay such attention to secondary considerations. The dragging intrigue within the Republican Party over the Vice Presidency likewise betrays secret anxiety. The Republicans are unconfident, not about the fact of victory in November, but about the content of victory after November.

These narrow partisan anxieties in the end betray something about the spirit of the American people at this point of history, or at least about that spirit as politicians judge it. This is the image of a people becalmed by the charismatic appeal of a single individual, of a people unresponsive to any large or challenging appeal on domestic or foreign issues, of a people turned inward upon themselves. The incumbent party can hope for victory only by soothing the electorate, and the opposition party only by cadging and cajoling it.

If the present maneuvers of the politicians are an accurate response to what they see in the mirror politics holds up to life, it is perhaps time for the people themselves to turn and gaze into the mirror.

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THE SCREEN

TWELVE O'CLOCK IS STILL HIGH

STANLEY KRAMER'S "High Noon" did not exactly start it, but that excellent movie certainly spurred other producers on to making westerns with a message about civic responsibility, and, fortunately, the cycle continues. While three new items in this series of films which use violence for more than its own sake are not in the same class with "High Noon," "Shane" and "Bad Day at Black Rock," they do have commendable merit and impressive themes of their own. "The Fastest Gun Alive" even goes so far as to say that being quickest on the draw has its disadvantages (an idea unusual for a western) because "no matter how fast you are, there's always someone faster." The villain of the piece, a bank robber played by Broderick Crawford with a calloused toughness that almost burlesques the role, is practically psychotic, so determined is he to prove he is the fastest gun alive.

But in a peaceful Western town lives a mild and peaceful storekeeper played by Glenn Ford with outward calm and inward stress. He has two secrets—both of which Scriptwriters Frank D. Gilroy (who also wrote the original story) and Russell Rouse are much too slow in revealing to the audience: 1) Ford really *is* the fastest gun alive. 2) He is struggling with a psychological problem because he hates gunplay and did not avenge the death of his father. So Crawford and his toadies (John Dehner, Noah Berry, Jr.) ride into this peaceful town and find all its good folk gathered in church. Comes the inevitable duel on the deserted main street—but not until after considerable suspense as to whether Ford will accept Crawford's challenge before the toadies burn down the whole town. Director Rouse must have thought his picture needed more than this exciting plot so he prettied it up with a barn-dance scene in which Russ Tamblyn dances well, but in a manner more fittin' to a musical comedy. As Ford's wife, Jeanne Crain also looks as if she would be happier in a musical comedy. But "The Fastest Gun Alive" snaps you to attention with its tricky ending, and none of its faults detracts from its themes.

SET IN the post-Civil War period (a favorite with the makers of westerns) is "Rebel in Town," which stresses, along with forgiveness of one's enemies, the dangers of having trigger-happy folk in a community. It mainly concerns two families: an Arizona rancher (John Payne) with an overwhelming hatred for Confederates, who lives with his wife (Ruth Roman) and seven-year-old son; a former Alabama plantation owner (J. Carrol Naish) who is a Bible-quoting patriarch, but not so religious that he refrains from leading his four sons, former Confederate cavalrymen, in the robbery of a bank in this territory. After the robbery three of the brothers come to the town near John's ranch for water; one of them, jittery, when John's little boy fires at them with a cap pistol, shoots the boy. The brothers flee, although the youngest (Ben Cooper) wants to stay and tend the boy. Later, against the advice of his father and brothers, Ben plans to sneak back to town, not knowing that the child has died. The brother who shot the boy knifes Ben and throws his body on a horse; and when John finds wounded Ben he takes him to his ranch where his wife, against John's protests, nurses the young ex-Confederate until he is quite well again.

Perhaps the effectiveness of "Rebel in Town" is due to the absence of anything spectacular. Danny Arnold has written a good, literate screenplay from his own story, and Director Alfred Werker has gotten pleasing, straightforward performances from his cast.

ROBERT RYAN is such a good actor that he makes "The Proud Ones" seem better than it is. With intense sincerity and skill he portrays the marshal of a small Kansas town who is beset with almost as many troubles as Job. With the completion of the railroad, the town is attracting trail herds from Texas and the roughneck cowhands who go with them. The Palace Saloon is being taken over by a power-minded bully (Robert Middleton) who thinks he was the cause of Ryan's leaving his last town and now hopes to get rid of Ryan again so he can grab control here. But it was Ryan's girlfriend (Virginia Mayo) who persuaded Ryan to leave his last job and she is now working to get him out of harm's way again. Along with the new cowboys is a pugnacious young fellow (Jeffrey Hunter) who is determined to avenge his father, who had been killed by Ryan. Most of the townsfolk, instead of siding with Ryan, law and order. are enjoying the boom and Middleton's promise of big money. Not the least of Ryan's woes is an old head-wound that causes temporary loss of vision—obviously a source of embarrassment for a marshal.

The elements of this story are familiar to anyone who has seen the better westerns of the past five years, but Director Robert D. Webb has mixed them well to keep his audience in a continuous state of excitement, and his good cast which includes Walter Brennan, Arthur O'Connell and a large number of supporting players, manages to give conviction to the crowded and violent plot. It is, however, on fine, upstanding Marshal Ryan that our interest centers, as well as on such occasional statements, no longer surprising in a western, as "Pride can kill a man faster than a bullet."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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OF NOTE

THE LANGUAGE OF DEVOTION

THE July-August issue of *Worship* (The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota. $3.50 per year) contains an article by Father Gerald Vann, O.P., on current translations of the Litany of Loretto. Excerpts from this article follow:

It is a strange thing that while of recent years we have seen such a vast amount of work done and such immense results achieved in the sphere of liturgical worship, little or no attention seems to have been paid to the crying need of reform in our use of the vernacular in worship. Our hymns and "devotions" are for the most part an affront to the mind and, as like as not, fail to correspond to any reality in our hearts.

This surely is a grave matter, and for three reasons: it is insulting to address God in language which we know to be bad language, and false to express with it sentiments which we know to be mawkish and unreal; secondly, it is stultifying to ourselves; and thirdly, it is all too likely to drive away from the Church non-Catholics who are otherwise interested and sympathetic.

This use of bad language is nowhere more tragic than when it spoils what would otherwise be a beautiful thing. The Litany of our Lady is a case in point. Here you have a string of epithets, lovely as a rope of pearls: Tower of David, Tower of Ivory, House of Gold, Ark of the Covenant, Gate of Heaven, Morning Star; but the luster is taken from them, and the Litany as a whole spoilt, by so many other epithets which are either poor translations or indeed downright mistranslations, or at any rate show a lamentable lack of any sense of language, any feeling for the beauty of words.

Let us then look at some of these phrases and see whether they might not be improved upon. (Such positive suggestions as are made here are of course purely tentative: they are made simply in the hope that they may arouse fruitful discussion, out of which eventually something more worthy may develop.)

The fundamental principle of all good translation is that it must be a translation not from word to word but from idea to idea. The same Latin word, let us say, may be found today in both English and French, but nothing is more likely than that in the course of the centuries it will have acquired two very different meanings in the two modern tongues. In a living language words are not static things; usage can alter, twist, sometimes turn inside out their original meaning; they acquire new *nuances,* new associations, new overtones; and all this has to be taken into account if a phrase from one language and culture is to be adequately translated into another. . . .

"Mother of divine grace": again what exactly does this mean? To the modern Catholic, divine grace simply suggests sanctifying grace; and in what sense our Lady is to be regarded as the mother of that it would defeat the average layman to explain. Presumably the Latin phrase is acclaiming the Mother of the God from Whom all grace comes to us, honoring her therefore for her part in making the coming of that grace possible: we might at least come a little nearer to conveying something of all this if we used a capital letter, a personification: "Mother of God's Grace."

Next we have four phrases all of which are likely to seem to the modern Catholic to be saying exactly the same thing: *Mater purissima, castissima, inviolata, intemerata.* There are two points to be noted: first, a superlative in one language will not neccssarily be accurately rendered by the corresponding superlative in another; secondly, such adjectives as "pure" and "chaste" have come to mean simply "free from carnal sin."

Now *purus* does not mean that: it means something much wider and deeper. We still use the word "pure" accurately enough in other contexts, as when we speak of pure gold or pure goodness of heart: something unalloyed, sterling, whole, perfect through and through. So, of a human being, the word describes the man of perfect integrity; in the sphere of religion it describes the man who will not worship God and Mammon, the man whose love of God is not spoilt or qualified by other loves which cannot be integrated into it. Chastity again is more than a mere absence of carnal sin; it is a positive virtue, a love and pursuit of personal integrity, of the harmony between body and spirit which was disrupted by the original sin; and if the Latin superlative conveys simply the perfection of our Lady's chastity we can surely find some more English ways of translating it than by the use of the clumsy "most chaste."

Inviolata and *intemerata* are more or less synonymous; the trouble with the English version here is that our words "inviolate" and "undefiled" are not exactly beautiful in themselves, and again give a wholly negative stress. Here then there is hard work to be done; perhaps we shall be making a step in the right direction if we suggest something like:

Mater purissima:	Mother of perfect love (or, of undivided heart).
Mater castissima:	Mother of flawless chastity.
Mater inviolata:	Mother ever a Maiden.
Mater intemerata:	Mother unsullied by evil.

Next we have *amabilis* and *admirabilis:* and these words are definitely not translated by "amiable" and "admirable." *Amabilis* means lovable or lovely; "amiable" has acquired quite different and largely pejorative overtones; and *admirari* is not just to admire but to wonder at. Moreover our present version gains nothing

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by putting the ubiquitous "most" in front of these adjectives. If we are not to say quite simply "Lovable Mother" and "Wonderful Mother" (because this would break the rhythm of the series), at least we might perhaps have something like "Mother so lovable" (or "so lovely"), "Mother so wonderful."

When we come to the set of "Virgin" apostrophes we find "most prudent, most venerable, most renowned, most powerful, most merciful, most faithful," and most of these could surely be bettered. "Prudent" has taken on a rather worldly and calculating meaning for us; perhaps we have the prudence of the serpent at the back of our minds; "venerable" suggests something of extreme antiquity, and has acquired almost frivolous overtones from its association with beards; *clemens* might in the context be more accurately rendered "gentle"; and if *fidelis* means that our Lady will never break trust with us it might be better translated "true." Perhaps then we might suggest:

Virgo prudentissima:	Virgin most wise.
Virgo veneranda:	Virgin whom we revere.
Virgo praedicanda:	Virgin whose praises we sing.
Virgo potens:	Virgin so powerful.
Virgo clemens:	Virgin so gentle.
Virgo fidelis:	Virgin so true. . . .

Next we have *Vas spirituale, honorabile, insigne devotionis,* all of them baffling enough to the translator. For *vas* itself, "vessel" must surely be ruled out straight away: the word can hardly be said to be used nowadays, apart perhaps from shipping contexts. And what exactly does "spiritual vessel" mean? It might be taken to mean that Mary is hailed as a receptacle for something unspecified, but a receptacle purely spiritual, not carnal: and it certainly cannot mean that. The idea to be conveyed then must be that she is filled with spiritual blessings, with spiritual life, in which case it would be better to say so; and for "receptacle" we need look no further than the word "chalice," so rich for us in meaning.

"Singular vessel of devotion" is gibberish, and hideously ugly. *Insignis* means "illustrious," "glorious," and so on; *devotio* may have little enough to do with "devotion" in the purely emotional sense in which the word is now commonly used: we might be better advised to take it, as in the *Summa Theologica,* as meaning the will to dedicate oneself to God. . . .

It must be emphasized again that these suggestions are suggestions and nothing more: the point of these notes has been simply to illustrate a need and its attendant problems, not to advance a definite solution. But what a grand thing it would be if, perhaps through some happy collaboration of poetry and theology, a version of the Litany *could* be given us which would do honor to the Mother of God in a way that was really worthy!

THE FORERUNNER

In the scorched places between Kedron and the
Dead Sea,
in the birdless land hummocked with pallid clay like
the heads of lepers,
satyrs blinked at him from orange rocks,
ghouls spat at him from the carcasses of camels
when that scarecrow man Jokhannon
wandered the gritty waste.

He too met the Tempter.
When he roamed pitted hillocks
seeking honey in the grey towers of the bees,
little imps—coneys with faces of pale girls—
lisped at his heels.
When he prayed voices assailed him, hissed from
the dust-whirls,
roared blasphemies from the corrugated mountains,
the bitter pink ravines
where the bad jinn have their spectral castles,
doors opened in the air, spinning vortices of negation.
Sometimes mirages promised palaces and lakes,
flimsy gardens falsifying sand,
sweet whisperers, sweet odours, rose and spice,
stole through his sleep,
and worst of all Hell's lures,
would often come tripping towards him, two by two,
twelve ingratiating devils
in the appearance of young men and old who cried,
"Hail, Master! Hail, Messiah!"

But powers of the air cannot prevail with one
who hears the horn of judgment in his secret ear,
who feels the feet of the expected One
walking along the jordans of his blood!

So John saw the appointed day rise over the
horns of the mountains.
Light danced like angels along their crests
as the Forerunner went striding city-ward
through the waste,
a dry wind shaped like a man, a walking voice,
a lion who cleared a pathway for the Lamb,
a thorn who knew he only foretold the Rose,
great cock of God who warned of the rising Sun
lest men should wither by its sudden fire
lest men should perish from the shock
of unprecedented Love.

LEAH BODINE DRAKE.

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COMMUNICATIONS

THE SPANISH PEOPLE

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editors: Mr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn makes an astonishing indictment of the Spanish people in his communication (July 27). They loathe work, he says. They want to eat their cake and have it. Thus does the writer wish to relieve the ruling powers in Spain from some measure of responsibility for the economic situation in that country.

If Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn is as familiar with Spain as he professes to be, he should be aware of the thousands of Spaniards who attempt to eke out a bare living by holding two jobs. Their lives are riveted to the grindstone. They have little or no leisure. In the quest for the bare necessities of life for their families, they are exhausting themselves.

His sweeping generalization, moreover, does not take into account the diversities among the people of Spain. The Catalonians have been notorious for their industry. Barcelona did not become a thriving industrial city through apathy and indolence. The Basques have never been deficient in energy and application. If there is less dedication to work in Andalusia, it is because, in part at least, this part of Spain is semi-tropical.

Should one live in order to work, or work in order to live? The formula is freighted with ambiguity. The Spaniard, to the extent that he puts the accent more on "life" than on "working," is not wholly wrong. He and his Latin brothers can teach the Anglo-Saxon about the value of cultivated leisure. Aristotle would certainly sanction the view that servile work should be made wholly subordinate to the life of culture.

The regime, he believes, should have made concentrated efforts to educate the Spanish people to appreciate the necessity of work. Granting for the moment his assumption, who would first educate the educators? If there is one group in the country that needs enlightenment, it is the discredited ruling class, so roundly denounced by Bishop Herrera of Malaga. I am not aware that the bishops of Spain have been complaining of the indolence of the people. The ruling class, however, has been unequivocally condemned for its failure in social justice.

As to a free press in Spain, Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn "knows" that it would be terribly abused by demagoguery. This, he asserts, is the consensus. I know of no such consensus. It is certain, however, that the ruling cliques of Spain fear the revelations of graft, malfeasance and other crimes that would result from a free press. It is probable that the scandals would parallel those exposed in Argentina after the fall of Perón.

A final point: Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn declared that I both cited and praised the ex-Rector of the University of Madrid, Dr. Pedro Laín Entralgo, who is a Falangist. I am unaware that I praised him in any manner. I merely summarized a report he submitted to the government.

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON.

Familiar Catholic Stories, Too Seldom Told

THE STRAIGHT AND NARROW PATH. By Honor Tracy. Random House. $3.50.

By JOHN F. SULLIVAN

FOR ALL his rationality, man is also a comic animal and often a vicious one. In the light of this far from original observation, it should surprise no one that in human institutions—even under Divine guidance—there is so much to be laughed at, so much to be reproved. And since the greatest literature is that which witnesses to the gulf between man's sublime aspirations and his ridiculous pretensions, it is no wonder that a Chaucer, say, or an Erasmus should find in the institution of the Catholic Church so much rich matter for comedy or satire.

Since the Reformation, however, comic or satiric writing about the Church has generally originated from narrow political or sectarian occasions, rather than from a genuine appreciation of the inevitable weakness of man. As a consequence, Catholics have largely been driven to the absurd position of publicly denying—what many have no hesitation in admitting intramurally—that there can be comic or vicious aspects of the administration of the Church by human beings.

Such a position is in particular occupied by Catholicism in Ireland and, all too often, by its American offspring. The number of English-speaking Catholics who have experienced, in some moment of total exasperation, the impulse to expose in print the absurdities and vulgarities of Irish Catholicism must be legion. But precisely because such an impulse must be repressed, on the traditional plea that such an exposure would be imprudent, it is all the more apt sometimes to explode in really imprudent, if not malign violence.

It may be, therefore, that those Catholics who do not simply anathematize it will read *The Straight and Narrow Path,* a new novel by Honor Tracy, with a small sense of guilt. For it contains stories all Catholics know and tell each other —with a rueful laugh or an earnest indignation—but which they do not write down in quite this way. The guilt would arise from an acknowledgment that they ought, perhaps, to have been more often written down.

It must be admitted that they are written down by Miss Tracy with extraordinary wit and style. Her comic inventiveness is a gift of the first magnitude. She has a command of timing that I can only compare to something like the talent of a Chaplin. Comic incidents are devised with something like the wild

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effervescence of the earlier novels of Evelyn Waugh, but with an appraisal of humanity that is sweeter and truer.

This comic gift is supported by a fine structural sense and a real ability to create character. But these talents have been subverted, in *The Straight and Narrow Path,* to the somewhat splenetic development of a questionable theme.

Miss Tracy's novel is the story of Dr. Andrew Butler, a vacationing English anthropologist, who becomes entangled in a lunatic legal action with Canon Ignatius Peart, parish priest of the Irish village where he has been staying. But it is perhaps more properly the story of a curious deviation on the part of the villagers from their ordinary complacent thralldom to the Canon. It is symbolized by a peculiar deviation of the weather from its usual Irish condition.

Clearly, the bright sun which dispels the Irish mists for the space of a summer is meant to imply a rational clarity which is normally impossible in Ireland. Under its benign influence, Miss Tracy's characters enjoy seeing their Canon worsted by the dauntless Englishman. In the end, however, the mists return, and what seemed to Butler the culminating joke suddenly is taken seriously by even the sanest Irishmen.

What has happened to Miss Tracy's novel, in fact, is what usually happens when the passion for rationality becomes an obsession. At first, in the light of it, the comic and the grotesque are sharply illuminated, but as the intensity grows, one is finally blinded by the glare to man's inability to live by reason alone. What might have been a salutary exposure of the superstitious follies of the faithful by the light of laughter turns at the last, in *The Straight and Narrow Path,* to an unhealthy identification of faith with superstition.

I do not suppose that this was fully intended by Miss Tracy. There are some saving qualities which must be mentioned. For one thing, Canon Peart may be ignorant and, perhaps, vain, but he is no hypocrite. He knows, at least, his fundamental duty and performs it with real charity. The villain, in fact, is Patsy La Trobe, the lawyer who dupes the Canon into suing Dr. Butler. But even Patsy, triple-dyed hypocrite though he is, cannot be taken too seriously, for his performances are superbly played, and no one can fail to delight in the fullness with which he is ultimately served his just deserts. Finally, it should be noted that a certain ambiguity, whether intentional or not, does attach to the seemingly distasteful denouement. To a dedicated rationalist, the triumphs of faith must always appear to be superstitious mockery.

In any event, if this novel does in part reflect an exasperation Miss Tracy could no longer repress, it is to be hoped that, having so overwhelmingly evened her personal scores, she will now devote her impressive talents to a comic understanding of men and their institutions that is less chilled by the bleak light of rationalism than is *The Straight and Narrow Path.*

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The Uses of Serious Fiction

THE BURNING JEWEL. By Teresa Kay. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.75.

By FRANK GETLEIN

THE WAXWORK figures of basic ladies' fiction have been put to as many uses as serious fiction itself has served in its constant response to changing needs, changing emphases, changing fashions. It is not surprising that they should turn up, as here they do, in the service of holy religion, holy religion having been served by—and having been equally at the service of —serious fiction for some years now.

The trouble with serious fiction's service is that you can't really count on it. The novel of social protest raises vast problems that the welfare state can't begin to deal with. So too the serious religious novel conjures up aspects of human anguish beyond the capacity of the human/mechanical ecclesiastical organization to handle. Those illiterate churchmen who automatically suspect Greene, Bernanos, Mauriac—it is hard to think of a serious writer of religiously oriented fiction who hasn't been denounced by *some* local voice of the Church—are probably wiser than they know themselves. The problem does not arise in that happier category occupied by *The Burning Jewel.* It is extremely unlikely that anyone will object to this minor bit of religious clap-trap on any but literary grounds.

The locale of the novel is Romania at some unspecified time in the present century, a time so unspecified, in fact, that it is difficult to believe it existed at all, a quality shared by every other element of the novel. Lindon and Laura Herm are the British consul and his wife at a Black Sea resort town. Lindon is something of a martinet; Laura is a violet by a mossy stone. We are told early and often that Lindon is suffering from some strange romantic event in his early history that makes him act strange from time to time. They have a child, Robin —Laura, by the way, is called "Pipit" in the privacy of the home —and Robin's problem is that he's unmanly: doesn't ride, doesn't swim, doesn't bounce about; reads books and thinks, instead. Lindon is all for sending him off to English boarding school; Laura thinks this would break her heart.

Thus the situation to begin. Note the general well-bred glamor laid on with a trowel and greatly enhanced by the quaint, thieving, loyal, dirty Romanians—who nevertheless have the secret of faith, missing from the British colony.

Other glamorous characters move in and out, especially Janet Reith, the touring British author of bright and brittle novels. Janet offers Lindon something he gets neither from Pipit nor Robin, the sporting life: she plays tennis and swims. A good deal of private agonizing goes on and the climax of the novel sends Lindon, Robin and Janet swimming bravely into high seas, as Laura follows in a boat. Robin drowns and Pipit moves from Lindon's room to a maid's room and things go from bad to worse. Earlier, an American priest has arrived on the scene and he tries in vain to get Pipit to forgive. She won't.

The rest of the novel is devoted to Pipit's continued refusal to forgive Lindon. Finally, as he is relieved of his post—he having taken to drinking in a fashion unbecoming a British consul—she sits in a sunny garden, feels a great weight remove itself and knows that she has forgiven. Unfortunately her timing is off by four or five hours; she misses Lindon and he, at last, goes off to spend the night with Janet, in conformity to the principle deduced from serious religious fiction: "No salvation without adultery."

The illicit union having finally taken place, we know that compassion is just around the corner. After toying with suicide, Lindon rushes off to the quaint old monastery and confesses all to the American priest. Throughout this scene there is an interior dialogue between Lindon and the Holy Ghost in the form of a great bird, Lindon constantly trying to escape to suicide, the Holy Ghost successfully holding him back and impelling his confession.

Without the image of the Holy Ghost, most of the other actions in the novel are similarly motivated by Miss Kay in place of the Third Person of the Trinity. There is no recognizable point of view at all; what passes for one frequently slips gears in mid-sentence as we slide, for example, from Pipit's initial reaction to the priest to Miss Kay's reassurance that priests are pretty nice people. I found this disconcerting.

Midwestern Theme

THE NARROW COVERING. By Julia Siebel. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

IN *The Narrow Covering,* her first novel, Julia Siebel has bitten off a great deal of material for her two hundred or so pages, but not more than she can chew. With speed and dispatch worthy of the corn shredders of her Kansas locale, she seizes births, deaths, marriages, droughts, and other acts proper to a midwestern God, and chops them up exceeding fine.

The story concerns Ella Beecher, her life. Reared by a fanatically religious mother, Ella is early indoctrinated with the Book of Job, and grows up to be a plain thinking woman who is happy when cleaning her house, suffers hot flashes at any social gathering livelier than a sewing bee, and nearly expires the night her husband takes one scotch too many at the country club.

When life and the end of the book overtake Ella, her daughter

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Approach to Politics, II

One must ask whether, since Christian peoples are the overwhelming beneficiaries of the modern world economy, they have any special obligation to take notice of the vast disparities of wealth and misery which exist within the single physically united world. Are any principles of Christian compassion and distributive justice involved? Any social obligation or moral imperative?

The answer which comes most easily to modern lips is that group obligations do not extend beyond national frontiers. The State is absolute, and while a sharing of national income within the national community is now one of the bases of Western democracy, there is no suggestion that the obligations go any further . . . .

Yet such a limitation of compassion is not Christian and nothing can make it so. It is, in fact, a part of the idolatry of the nation-state which, in the modern world, is the mark of both democracies and dictatorships. A faith in which there is "neither Jew nor Gentile," a faith founded upon the common Fatherhood of God and upon mankind's sonship in Christ must be based on the concept of mankind as a family—and a family in which fraternal charity is not limited by frontiers of race . . .

The important point is the point of principle. Are we or are we not in the West under a moral obligation to assist in the material advancement of hungry, shelterless, disease-ridden peoples in other less fortunate lands? For the Christian, there is only one answer. We are. Once that decision is taken, the mechanics of putting distributive justice into effect are not insuperably difficult.

—Barbara Ward, The Commonweal, November 5, 1954

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has gone off to study ballet in New York City, and her favorite nephew has died in World War II. One might expect these simultaneous tragedies to provide an occasion for Ella to rise, but she inexplicably takes an overdose of sleeping pills instead.

Mrs. Siebel's style is of the simple, direct statement variety, and once her narrative gets underway it proceeds like a locomotive across the Kansas prairies, and goes like hell. Considering the number of events covered, it would be factitious to object that character development and motivation are bypassed *en route*.

The only possible complaint about a novel like this is that its midwestern theme is somewhat dated. Maybe the prairies used to be populated by unfulfilled ladies with narrow lives, but not any more. Out here, these days, they're all writing novels.

RECENT AND NOTABLE

The Holy Bible. Translated by Monsignor Knox. Sheed and Ward. $7.50 and $8.50.

By now the Knox translation, as it has come to be called, is well known. It is the first complete Catholic translation of the entire Bible by a single person since that of St. Jerome in the fifth century. Originally published in three separate volumes, it is now available in a single, readable volume with a choice of bindings.

The Catholic Companion to the Bible. Edited by Ralph L. Woods. Introduction by Bishop John J. Wright. Lippincott. $3.95.

The editor writes that this compilation is designed to provide "authoritative, interesting and thoroughly readable writings that will encourage, guide and enlighten Catholics who read or want to read the Bible." The variety can be indicated by some of the writers included: St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, Jean Daniélou, Ronald A. Knox, G.K. Chesterton, Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Manning, Henri de Lubac and Jacques Maritain.

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They Saw His Glory. By Maisie Ward. Sheed and Ward. $4.50.

The author provides a background for a study of the first five books of the New Testament. She gives a brief history of Israel from the time of exile, a survey of recent archaelogical discoveries, and a consideration of the origin of the written Gospels.

The Pitiful and the Proud. By Carl T. Rowan. Random House. $5.

Mr. Rowan had received many awards and honors for his reporting before the State Department asked him to visit Southeast Asia, Pakistan, and India in order to convince Asians of the values of democracy. In his preface Mr. Rowan says that "these are not easy times for an American Negro to write a book about Asia." But he, himself, has written a fascinating, informative, sometimes dispiriting account of Asia.

Pandora's Box. By Dora and Ervin Panofsky. Pantheon. $4.

This is a worthy addition to the Bollingen Series. Mr. Panofsky and his wife trace the changing aspects of Pandora, "the pagan Eve," in European literature and art from Roman times to the present. Sixty half-tone illustrations accompany the text.

A Report on the American Jesuits. By John LaFarge, S.J. Photographs by Margaret Bourke-White. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4.50.

Father La Farge gives the origin of the Jesuits and traces their history in the United States. The mission of the Jesuits and their widely varied activities are considered more fully. Miss Bourke-White's fine and numerous photographs contribute much to this handsomely designed book.

REVIEWERS

John F. Sullivan is a member of the faculty of the University of Detroit.

Frank Getlein is a frequent contributor to The Commonweal, *Today* and other magazines.

Jean Holzhauer is a regular reviewer for *The Commonweal*.

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